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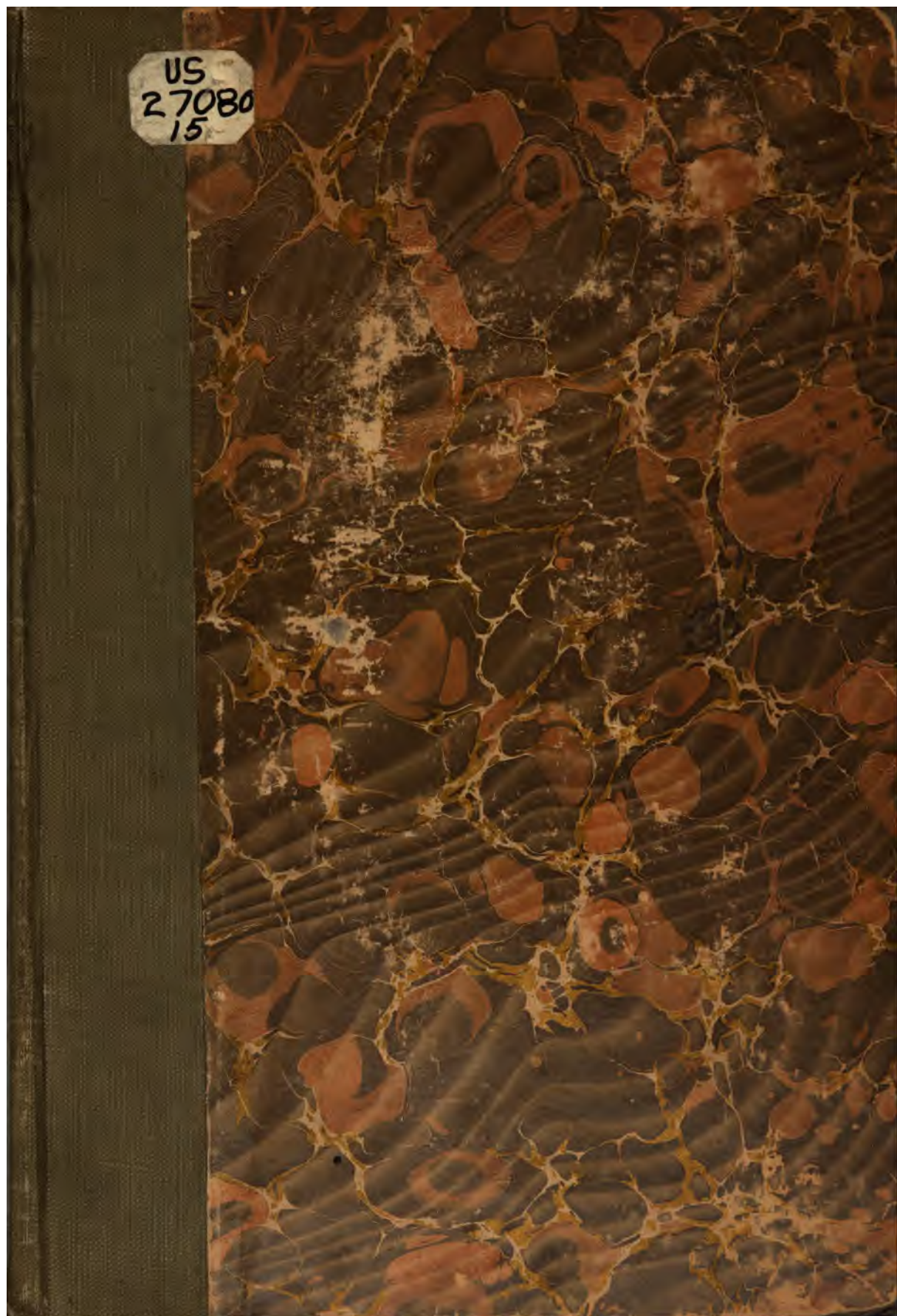
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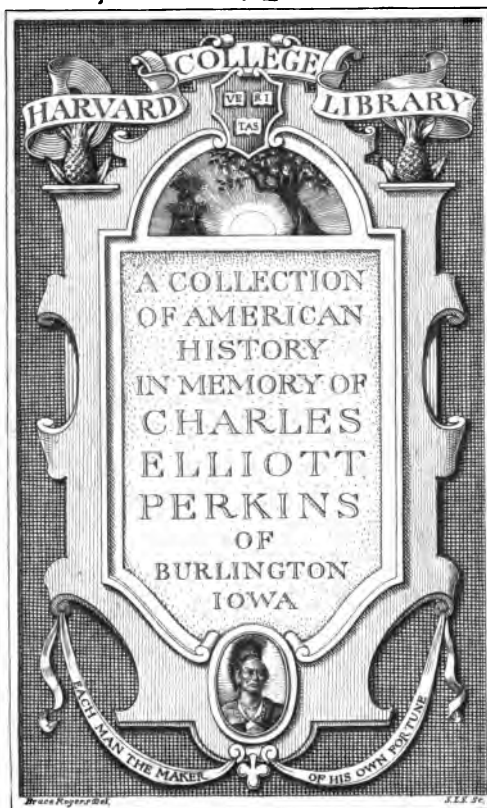
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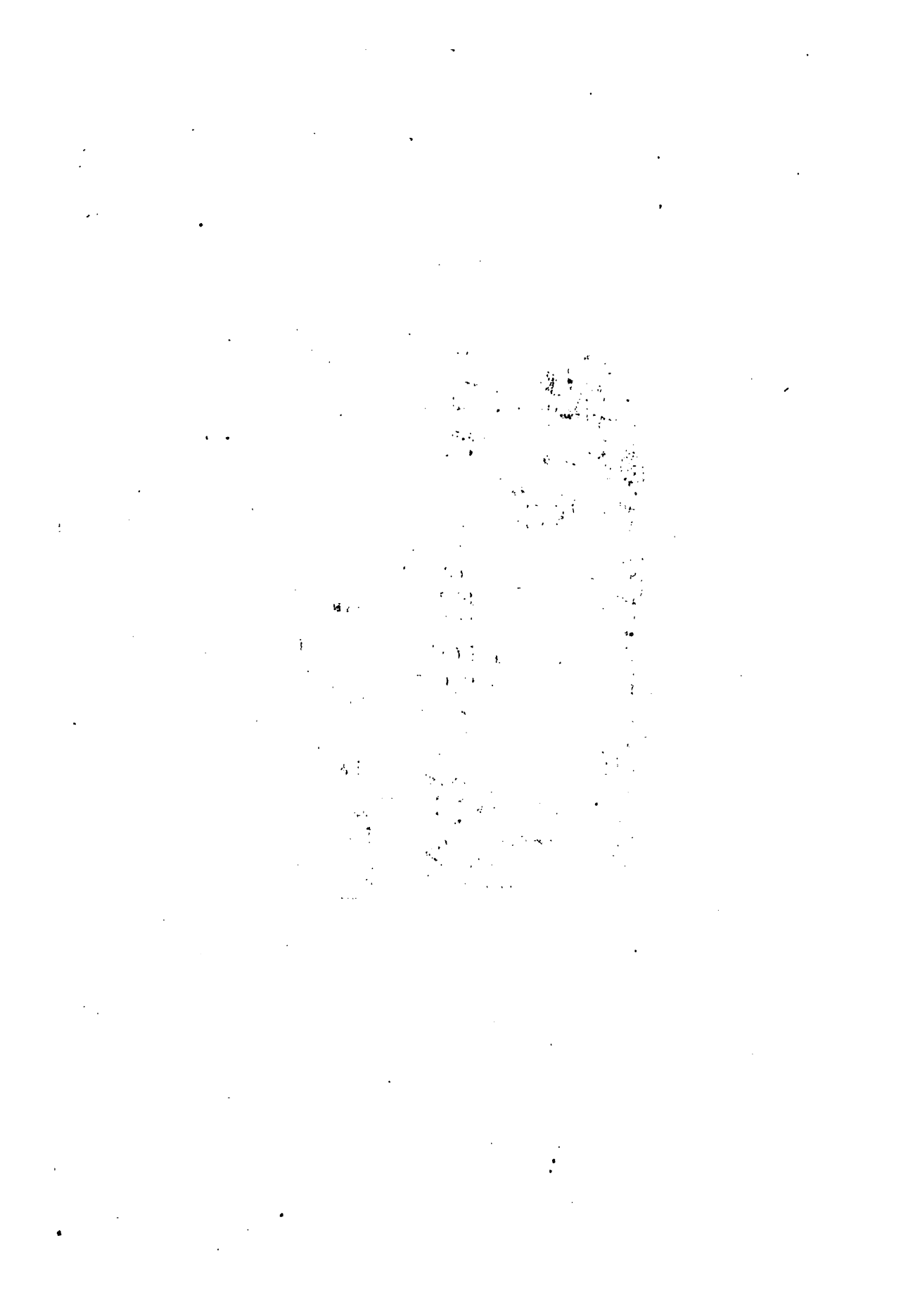
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LECTURES

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

EARLY FRENCH OCCUPATION OF MICHIGAN.

ORIGIN OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE.

BY

DANIEL L. CROSSMAN,

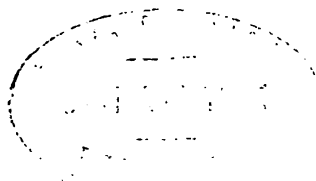
CLERK OF THE HOUSE.



BY AUTHORITY.

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C. E. Perkins memorial.

157

DEDICATED

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE MICHIGAN

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

OF 1889.

“In every government, though terrors reign,
Though tyrant kings or tyrant laws restrain,
How small, of all that human hearts endure,
That part which laws or kings can cause or cure;
Still to ourselves in ev’ry place consigned,
Our own felicity we make or find;
With secret course, which no loud storms annoy,
Glides the smooth current of domestic joy.”

—*Goldsmith.*

PREFACE.

During the past winter I have had some leisure evenings, and perhaps as much for my own entertainment as otherwise I have occupied the time of some of those evenings in preparing the article presented here. I present it not as an expert, but as an amateur with an honest love for the theme. The subject is in the line with my most enjoyable reading for some years, and if this paper shall give some readers one tithe of the pleasure to peruse that it has me to prepare it, I shall be content.

D. L. CROSSMAN.

THE FOLLOWING ARE EXTRACTS FROM THE HOUSE JOURNAL.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, }
April 4, 1889. }

Mr. Abbott offered the following:

Resolved, That Clerk Crossman be requested to deliver his lecture on "The Early French Occupancy of Michigan," on Wednesday evening, April 10, and that the use of the hall of the House be granted for that purpose.

Which was adopted.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, }
April 12, 1889. }

Mr. Cole offered the following :

Resolved, That the chief clerk be authorized to have printed, in pamphlet form, 800 copies of the address of the Hon. Daniel L. Crossman, delivered in Representative Hall on Wednesday evening, April 10; said copies to be procured for the use of the members of the House.

Mr. Baker moved to amend the resolution by adding thereto, " and 200 copies for the use of the chief clerk."

Which motion prevailed.

The resolution as amended was then adopted.

EARLY FRENCH OCCUPATION OF MICHIGAN.

Every reader of the narratives of the early settlements in America, is first struck with the fact of Spanish supremacy—Spanish enterprise. Spain fitted out Columbus for all his voyages and discoveries, Cortez for his conquest of Mexico, Pizarro for Central America and Peru, Alverado for Gautemala, and Cabral for Brazil. But Spain reached her maximum of greatness in about the years of Ferdinand and Isabella, declining steadily thereafter, and for the last sixty years of the sixteenth century discoveries and settlements in the western hemisphere were nearly at a standstill, voyages to America being mainly confined to the fishing banks off Newfoundland, where cargoes of haddock and cod were annually awaiting the takers.

It was not until the opening of the seventeenth century that England or France cut any considerable figure in American history, or that the temperate climate of North America was explored to any noticeable extent. Then came on the struggle between England and France—between Iroquois and Algonquin—between Protestant and Catholic—between puritan and ritualist, which, after more than one hundred and fifty years of strife, culminated in a division of the territory on lines wrought out partly by natural water boundaries and partly by the logic of events.

Referring to the great lakes which form part of these water boundaries, I recall the theory of Ignatius Donnelly, in his "Age of Fire," that their enormous basins were scooped out of the earth by collision with a comet, whose central impact was in Huron, grinding up the rock to a depth of seven hundred feet, and whose fragmentary recoil formed the other great lakes, when old Father Time was a small boy in petticoats. The only pleasant part of this theory to contemplate is that this misguided comet left us his substance, consisting of rock, iron, copper, etc., and will not, therefore, be able to come and see us again in the same all embracing way.

In the way of speculations as to early events, there are none more interesting to me than those of late development tending to deprive Columbus of much of the inspiration with which some writers have striven to invest him as he entered upon and completed his great voyage of 1492. That he was a skillful map-maker and a bold navigator there is no doubt, and it seems now about as certain that, in his voyages of former years, he had visited Iceland, some think more than once even, and that on his visits there and in his intercourse with Icelandic sailors in messroom and on quarter deck, he had heard all the old tales and legends which we now know must have been extant in that country of one Leif Erickson, a bold adventurer who, near four hundred years before, had found, in a southwesterly direction, a wonderful "vineland." These stories, even as old sailors' yarns, may have helped to round out the belief of the Genoese map-maker in another continent, or a further India, which might be reached by sailing west, and the recollections of these narrations may have helped to sustain him against the combined importunities of his men, while on his western course.

But the actual discoverer of America will never again be satisfactorily established; whether Northmen or Southmen, Dane, Italian, Spaniard or Portuguese is entitled to the more credit, will never be known.

We no sooner settle down to the study of our Scandinavian discoverers, than we are confronted with a new claimant. A late writer in the *American Antiquarian* presents Ireland as entitled to the credit of furnishing the first pilgrim and missionary to the New World, and names a date which seems to defy all competition this side of Donnelly's submerged continent of Atlantis. For verification, this writer cites the reader to the *Bibliothèque* at Paris and to the *Cottonian* collection of Inos, where he claims is to be found good authority for the statement that in the sixth century, one St. Brendan, an Irish bishop who founded a monastery at Clonfert Kerry, and was at the head of three thousands monks, was of sea-going proclivities, so much so that he was generally known as the "Navigator." Finally, after visiting surrounding countries, he provisioned a bark for a long voyage, and taking trusty companions and competent sailors, he sailed from Tralee bay in a southwesterly direction for discovery. The voyage lasted many weeks, and in the land where he arrived he found a numerous race of people, among whom he spent seven years instructing them in Christianity. Reluctantly leaving them at the end of that period he promised to return again at some future time. His homeward trip was prosperous, and he arrived safely in Ireland. A few years later, being mindful of his promise to his trans-Atlantic converts, he embarked for a second voyage to this western land. In this purpose he was defeated by contrary winds and currents, so, after beating about some time, he returned to Ireland, where, in the year 575, he died at the ripe age of ninety-four, revered by all who knew him.

But, asks the skeptic, the conservative, where did this Bishop land? With what people did he live his seven years? And what became of his established Christian teachings?

The answers to these questions form the strongest part of the case, confirmation hard to explain away. The student of early American history, the investigator of Lord Kingsborough's collection of Mexican antiquities, with its hundreds of pages of picture writing, the admirer of Prescott's exhaustive works on Mexico and Peru, all have found in the Aztec and Inca races positive evidences of a well established priesthood with ritualistic methods of worship corresponding closely in many respects with Romish forms. Cortez, behind Columbus only twenty-seven years, and Pizarro, twenty years later, both accompanied by legal notaries, skilled priests, and learned writers, find themselves astonished, confronted with mild mannered, kindly disposed, well meaning races of people, whose civilization was in many respects in advance of those same vainglorious Spaniards, who came to teach them, ostensibly, but truly to subjugate them. History does not tell a story of more gigantic wrong and injury ever inflicted upon a people than was suffered by those native races at the hands of those who came with the grandest protestations of good-will.

Montezuma, as king of a numerous, happy, prosperous people, lived in state in the city of Mexico, with a private character as a man and public reputation as a ruler which even the biographers of Cortez' expedition could not traduce. Cortez and his handful of followers found themselves received with open arms almost everywhere, until their cruelty and disregard for others' rights revealed their true character. They found everywhere among the native races a distinct tradition that in the dim past a wonderful visitor had come to that country, a visitor in long robes, with a white face and shining beard, who had come from the country of the rising sun, who by his very

presence had given them a season of peace, taught them of their origin and destiny, and who had returned to his home, Hapallan, or Holy Island, promising to return some time in the future, or send another in his stead.

These simple hearted people viewed with admiration their white visitors, who were to them the representatives of the gods, and the fact that they had horses which they rode, added to this feeling of veneration, as neither the Aztecs or Toltecs had ever seen any beasts of burden before, and a soldier on horseback was a veritable centaur to them; then, if anything more was needed to complete their faith, it was supplied by the fact of gunpowder and fire arms.

This strange white man who had visited them ages before, was not a myth to them. They called him Quetzacoatl, and they had raised in his memory a great pyramid consisting of alternate layers of earth and sun-burnt brick, nearly forty-four acres in extent at its base and 177 feet high. Nothing on the continent compares with it. The great pyramid of Egypt only covers twelve acres; yet without beasts of burden, without anything but human hands they had erected by the work of thousands of men continued for many years, this pyramid of Cholula, in honor of one who brought them peace and blessings, who directed their attention to the study of the heavens, who taught them how to measure the passage of time, taking correctly into account the fraction of a day each year, which we regulate by leap year. This man, whose deeds and words had descended from father to son for ages—whose teachings were discernable in certain ritualistic rites of their priests—whose memory was preserved in the picture writing of their artists, and by the largest pyramid on earth,—this Quetzacoatl—who shall say that he was any other than the Irish Bishop, St. Brendan.

All this may seem a long way from Michigan; but as a part of the early history of America, it belongs to us.

I think the first recorded effort of France to gain a foothold in the New World was in 1534, when one Jacques Cartier, by government authority, made a voyage to Newfoundland, entered the gulf and river which he named St. Lawrence, prospecting about the islands, making little more than a reconnaissance; yet making his trip memorable by one piece of treachery. He induced two young Indians on board his vessel and carried them to France as specimens of the native population. The next year, 1535, he returned with three vessels to search out the country, believing still, as had navigators of all nationalities before him, that the thing to do was to find a water way to India. It is in the journal of this voyage that the word Canada first appears, as the Indian name of a country bordering on the river. He brought back the two young Indians of his former trip, and they were very useful to him as pilots in the navigation of the river, and as interpreters in all intercourse with the natives. He found a very populous, fortified village of Hurons at a point which he named, in honor of a ridge or elevation in the rear, Mount Royal (since corrupted into Montreal).

After a parley and exchange of presents with these Indians, he returned to the site of Quebec, where he had left his two largest vessels, and where autumnal storms warned him of the approach of winter. He built a fort and established the first French occupation of New France. It was a winter of great hardship to the voyagers; many died, all suffered greatly from scurvy, and when it was over all the living made haste to liberate their vessels from the ice, load up the remnant of their effects and return to the comforts of a more civilized life, taking with them again several Indian chiefs, so as to have something to exhibit in France in confirmation of the tales they should tell; but these chiefs did not long answer even that poor purpose, for all died shortly after

their arrival in France. The companionship of the white man never did agree with the Indian.

In 1541 Cartier made his third voyage to the New World, arriving in due time at Quebec, where he spent another miserable winter, deserting for home as soon as the spring would permit. Sieur de Roberval, with three hundred colonists, met Cartier in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and tried to detain him; but he escaped under cover of night and sailed for home. It had been the intention of the home government to establish a permanent settlement at this time, with Roberval as commandant; but Cartier escaped, in disgust that he should have been made subordinate in a country which he had discovered and explored. But the viceroy, Roberval, was not without his troubles; he was in charge of a mixed people, embracing all grades from the nobleman to the convict, several of which latter were released to complete his cargo, but the passenger which most exasperated him on the voyage was his niece, Marguerette. He appears, as is shown by his acts later on, to have been lacking in both patience and judgment; and no doubt the young lady was herself wayward and obstinate. She had been indulging in a liaison on the voyage with a young man not at all to the uncle's liking, his orders had been disobeyed and his wrath kindled to such a pitch that on his arrival in the gulf he landed her, together with an old Norman nurse, on an island said to be haunted, known in fact as the Isle of Demons. The gallant in the case was not to be circumvented in this way. If the girl was to be deserted to die because of him, he determined like man to die with her, and in this frame of mind he threw himself overboard and swam to the island. Thus, perhaps the first couple to start life in the New World, single handed and alone, entered upon their domestic career. Their wedding service must have been patterned after that adopted by Adam and Eve. Their wedding music, the roar of the surf; the presents not numerous but valuable, costly—each had given every hope of life for the other. The balance of their story is soon told; they endured privations, sufferings, tortures, for months, for years; a child was born to them; but one by one the father, child and nurse succumbed and died. The mother with an endurance unparalleled lived two years and five months on the island, when she was discovered and rescued by some fishermen, who had been driven out of their course, and by them returned to her home and friends in France. Roberval, meantime, had sailed on to his destination—the site of Cartier's fort at Quebec, where his mixed cargo of soldiers, civilians, convicts, priests and women was unloaded to colonize a country. The story of their winter is one of cruelty, misery and sorrow. Roberval in his efforts to govern, did not temper his judgments with mercy, but executed by shooting and hanging ten or twelve of his subjects; about half of the balance perished from privation and disease, and the few who remained in the spring are without a biographer. Nothing is known but that a few broken palisades remained to mark the spot of their sufferings, Roberval himself returning to France.

Then history is nearly silent; more than fifty years elapsed during which there is no recorded effort at colonization in New France; but the fishing banks off Newfoundland are not silent, these Canadian waters developed then, into what they have since maintained—the grandest fisheries of the world. As early as 1578 three hundred and fifty vessels a year, of all nationalities, visited these banks for food fish, with satisfaction and profit to the owners.

In 1598 Marquis de la Roche made an effort at settlement in Canada. The failure of former efforts made it impossible to find persons willing to go as colonists, so the little vessel was loaded with forty convicts taken out of French prisons—released on

conditions only that they should go to Canada, but their liberty was dearly bought, as the historian narrates that on arrival at the Gulf, La Roche landed his criminals on Sable Island, while he sailed to explore the coast of Nova Scotia, with the purpose of ascertaining a favorable point for establishing trade with the Indians; but bad weather coming on, his frail vessel was so strained and driven that he dared not wait for a chance to return to the island, but sailed at once for France, leaving his forty convicts awaiting rescue; and it was a weary wait, for it continued for five years, during which time twenty-eight died, and the remaining twelve, emaciated with famine, sparsely covered with the skins of animals tied about them were found alive by a rescuing party, which La Roche's conscience forced him to send out for their deliverance. It was a very slow working conscience.

Surely, it was not an easy thing to establish settlements in a new country, even in a country as good as ours has turned out to be. For more than one hundred years every effort resulted only in disaster, the records of which fill hundreds of volumes. I shall not undertake to mention all these failures, even of efforts made by the French alone, but will glean along from the more interesting records that have come to my notice.

Champlain is a name very prominent in those early records; his first trip to America was in the year 1600 and was to the West Indies and Central America. In his journal of this trip is the first historic mention of the desirability of a canal across the American isthmus, and thus the original suggestion comes from the same source as the money to construct it comes three hundred years later—France. In 1608 Champlain made his second voyage, this time exploring the coast from Nova Scotia to Rhode Island. It is in the journal of this trip that the word Acadia is first found, being from an Indian word signifying the kind of fish we call haddock. Longfellow in his poem of *Evangeline* has so immortalized it that it stands for paradise now. Champlain kept on voyaging to and prospecting in the New World, discovering the lake on the north-eastern boundary of New York that bears his name, where he enforced his will with the Indians by the use of fire-arms, probably the first exhibition of the use of fire-arms ever witnessed by any northern Indians of this continent. Exploring the Ottawa river and finding thereby a water route to the Georgian Bay and Lake Huron, until, in 1611, he was probably the first European to camp on the soil of Michigan, passing up Saginaw river and visiting Indians on its banks. It is therefore very fitting that he should be recorded as our first governor,—a position to which he was appointed in 1622, and in which he served till his death in 1635.

As early as 1610 couriers had visited the vicinity of Detroit river, yet it was nearly one hundred years later, 1701, before the first effort was made at settlement there; and this without explanation seems strange, especially when we read that in 1641 a settlement was undertaken at the Soo, and in 1668 a permanent settlement was made at St. Ignace, both points so much inferior in natural advantages to Detroit; but I think the reason was twofold. First, the region of Mackinaw was a place of greater safety. The Iroquois Indians, who occupied the territory of New York, were a race entirely distinct from the Algonquins. Most of the tribes of Canada, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Illinois belonged to the Algonquin family, who, unless aroused by some real or fancied wrong, led peaceable and quiet lives, while the Iroquois were warlike, savage, and cruel, maintaining for many years a reign of terror, not only over the white settlers, but over the Algonquin tribes as well. Thus it was their annual picnic excursion to send out a party of braves in the spring to watch the east end of Lakes Erie

and Ontario for parties of hunters with their furs and peltries on their way to Montreal or Quebec, and cruelty and barbarism beyond conception now, as well as robbery, was the general result. It was on account of the dangers of this route that the trader and peaceable Indians more frequently made this long western journey to or from Quebec by way of the Ottawa River, a tributary of the St. Lawrence, explored by Champlain, as just narrated. It has its headwaters in Lake Nipissing, and thus connects with the waters of the Georgian Bay, so that they could get to the great lakes by this route and give the Iroquois Indians a wide berth. The second reason why the first settlement in Michigan was in this northern locality was that here all the tribes of the great northwest could get together and establish a common market for their furs and skins, which was the only crop they had to sell, and for these they got in exchange hatchets, kettles, fire-arms, etc.

It is a singular fact that the Jesuit history of a breadth of country in Canada just back of the Georgian Bay, for the years 1610 to 1650, inhabited by what were known as the Tobacco Indians, occupies volumes, while the history of the French occupation of the interior of our State is almost nothing, and I can only account for this on the same ground as before mentioned, namely that it was a place of greater safety, being further from the dreaded Iroquois; yet even there these Tobacco Indians were finally exterminated, massacred, burned, and the last remnant of them driven onto an island in the Georgian Bay, by these same merciless Iroquois butchers.

In 1641, two Jesuit priests, Raynbault and Jogeus, visited the Soo, probably the first white men ever there, finding at that point a Chippewa village of 2000 souls. There is no account of any farther white visitors until 1660, when René Mesnard, also a Jesuit priest, visited the same village, passing on to Lake Superior, where he spent the winter of 1661 near Keweenaw Point, and in the following spring started to complete the tour of the south shore of Lake Superior, with an Indian guide; their way led through Portage Lake, which they crossed, and while the Indian was carrying the canoe across to Lake Superior, over a narrow strip of land, where the canal is now located, Mesnard wandered away, was lost and never heard of again. He was followed in 1666 by Allouez, who made the tour of Lake Superior, and with Marquette, in 1668, made a very complete map of all the great lakes, which has been preserved to our time, and records with wonderful exactness the outlines of shores and islands, involving an amount of care and travel which rendered it very valuable for many years as the guide to all that region.

In 1670, two priests, Galinee and Dollier, visited the site of Detroit, stopped at the Indian village there, and true to their priestly office, inquired into the religious belief of the inhabitants. They found that their only object of worship was a stone image which the Indians held in great reverence, believing it to have power to influence the elements, so much so that before they started upon a journey or voyage they offered sacrifices of skins and food to this idol. The priests regarded it as their duty to destroy this stone image, so, says Galinee in his journal, "we broke it to pieces and threw it into the river, for which pious deed God rewarded us, for during the same day we killed a deer and a bear." They were on their way to St. Ignace, where two years before Marquette had established a settlement, and where he now sadly needed more help to accomplish the visionary hope of his life, which was no less than the evangelization of all the Indians of the Northwest; and what was most peculiar in his life was the fact that he was honest, true and zealous in his undertakings, unaffected by the jealousies as to trade or preferment, which seemed to taint nearly all his asso-

ciates and co-laborers. He lived a short life of great privation and hardship as most would consider, yet he died happy, a martyr to his energy on the field of his labors, in 1675, while on his return from the Mississippi country, and his name is preserved by a river, a city and a railroad of our State. Some time in the future, no doubt, a handsome monument will mark the spot of his third burial, where all that remained of him after two hundred years of sepulcher was deposited, at St. Ignace, some twelve years ago.

La Salle: his life as an item of early Michigan history is worthy of our whole evening, worthy of the careful examination of every Michigan citizen; but it has been left to Illinois to perpetuate his name. The citizens of that State have conferred it upon a town and a street of Chicago. On August 10, 1679, La Salle in his vessel, the Griffin, visited the site of Detroit. It was an event worth remembering, as the Griffin was the first vessel ever above the falls of the Niagara. Her name came from her figure head, Griffin, a ghost which sat upon her prow and gazed with stolid indifference alike upon storm or calm. She was noteworthy as being the first in a mighty train of sailing craft that have glided over the waters of our lakes by sail and wheel, until their tonnage is nearly twice that of the Pacific ocean which passes through the Suez canal. The date of the Griffin, like that of the date of the first steamer visiting our shores, should be days well established in our memories as a matter of State pride. Walk-in-the-Water was the name of our first steamer, and her first visit at Detroit was August 27, 1818. Her career was ended in a wreck near Buffalo, November 1, 1822, she having successfully navigated the lakes four years; but her story belongs to English or American history, while I am dealing with French Michigan only.

La Salle, with Father Louis Hennepin, M. Tonty and about twenty-five others left Detroit on the Griffin August 10, 1676, and proceeded to Green Bay, where the frigate took on her cargo and started on her return trip to Niagara, September 18. Charlevoix says that Indians stole the cargo and destroyed her, but other more reliable authorities claim that she was never heard of after leaving the harbor of Green Bay. It is known that a long, severe storm came on, and undoubtedly there were many defects in her construction, which would tend to the acceptance of the opinion that she went down with all on board, as marine disasters are too plenty now, with all the important improvements in ship building to make such a theory at all difficult; at any rate the Griffin and her cargo were never authentically heard of again. La Salle did not sail upon her, but with his party of artisans took canoes, crossed over to the Michigan shore and coasted down to the mouth of the St. Joseph river, where he established a fort, at which he left but few in charge, while the main body of his company pushed on into the Illinois country in their effort to find a waterway to the Mississippi. It had been La Salle's arrangement that the Griffin, after discharging her cargo at Niagara, should return for him to this fort at St. Joseph; but, after long waiting, until the truth was forced upon him that the Griffin was lost, he started upon his wonderful journey across the State overland for Detroit, and thus to Niagara and Quebec, enduring the rigors of February and March, camping out without a tent even, wading swamps, and depending on wild game for food, with a courage and endurance hardly human, and finally crossing the Detroit river on a raft in April, 1680, thus concluding what was undoubtedly the first overland journey ever made across the State by a white man.

The first recorded effort at anything like judicial proceedings in the territory of Michigan proper occurred in 1683, with Frontenac as Governor. It was at Mackinaw, then called Michillimackinac. Two French traders, Jacques le Maire and Collin

Berthot, had been brutally murdered for their goods—shot down, and their bodies concealed in a hole dug in a marsh and covered with brush. M' du L'Hut was commandant at Mackinaw, and on the disappearance of the traders he sent out detectives to search out their bodies, find their goods, and, if possible, discover the murderers. This, considering that he was in a strange country with about forty Frenchmen, and surrounded by thousands of Indians, was a very plucky measure, particularly so as his detectives found the bodies, got track of the goods, and secured evidence that the murderers were two prominent Indians with many friends. But the commandant was not dismayed; he created a posse of twelve officers, who arrested and guarded the prisoners night and day until their execution, which occurred after a trial lasting several days; the effort of the commandant being to have the Indian chiefs pronounce the sentence, they continually parleyed for delay, until M' du L'Hut determined to face the consequences and try the murderers with a council of Frenchmen, whom he appointed, which he then did. They were convicted and shot, says the historian, in the presence of all the French settlers and not less than five hundred Indians. Thus Michigan commenced with capital punishment for capital crimes.

In 1684 Nicolas Perrot, with about 100 French and 500 Indians, left Mackinaw in a fleet of canoes to punish the English and Iroquois of New York for various raids of their traders upon the French territory. They coasted along down Lake Huron without particular order, yet keeping as near together as convenient, landing for night encampments, and sometimes stopping days to supply themselves with food by hunting. The Indians were only half-hearted in the enterprise, as the English would pay twice as much for beaver skins as the French, and true to their fickle nature, they were discouraged by two accidents that occurred on the journey; in one, a Frenchman accidentally shot himself; in the other, in hunting deer, an Indian shot his brother. They looked upon these casualties as bad omens, so that it was with the greatest difficulty that Perrot kept his disorderly allies on their course, until they met, at the mouth of the Niagara river, a messenger, who informed them that the war was over and peace established with the English. The conditions of war and peace alternated each other with great frequency in those years. This little army of Hurons and French was, probably, the first army ever quartered on Michigan soil, or known to Michigan history.

As descriptive of Canadian people, says De Bongainville, a French navigator who served with Gen. Montcalm as aid-de-camp, "They are loud, boastful, mendacious, obliging, civil and honest; indefatigable in hunting, traveling and bush-ranging, but lazy in tilling the soil." It is perhaps from this statement that we can gather the reason why that feeble colony, as early as 1688, sent their Attorney General to Paris to induce the King, Louis the XIV., to send them a cargo of African slaves. It was quite the fashion with other nations in those years, so it was easy to obtain the king's consent; apparently his only hesitancy was fear that the climate might prove too severe for the health of the Congo native. In reading up the subject of American slavery there is one satisfaction to be obtained. The white races did not first originate the evil, in this country. That was *one* sin which the native races had before they were taught civilization. For ought we know the victims of conquest were enslaved in this country as early as they were in Rome, Greece or in Egypt; certain it is that there were scattered through the various tribes, prisoners of war, held as slaves from the earliest record down through the English occupation till 1796 or later, although the ordinance of 1787, which was the first effort of the United States to control the Northwest Ter-

ritory, contained a provision excluding slavery forever from its boundaries. The enslaving of Indians or Africans did not prove to be very profitable on our soil, as the highest quotation I can find in the early Detroit market is about \$300.00 for a man and \$250.00 for a woman, which was the price in 1770 to 1780.

The freeing of the slaves was not a realized fact until the organization of Michigan territory in 1805, when the ordinance of 1887, which became the territorial constitution, came in force, and then slaves ran away from Canada to Michigan to obtain their freedom. This order was soon reversed; but so numerous were these people in Detroit, that in 1806 a company of colored militia was formed to assist in the general defense of the country, which company was largely made up of run-away Canadian slaves.

There was one very peculiar hitch as to the nationality of Michigan, which belongs to the English regime, which I cannot refrain from referring to here. After the close of the revolutionary war there was nothing in the concluding treaty of peace in 1783, sufficiently definite to locate Michigan with certainty. The United States claimed it, but when Washington sent Baron Steuben to Quebec to make arrangements for the transfer of the Northwestern forts, he was informed by the English Governor, Sir Frederick Haldimand, that the territory belonged to England, that no surrender could take place, and was refused passports to Niagara and Detroit. It was not till 1796 that it was settled to be United States territory beyond question.

In obedience to the order of Count Frontenac, in 1686, M. du L'Hut, commandant at Mackinac, established a combined fort and trading post on the St. Clair river, which he called Fort St. Joseph. It stood on the present site of Fort Gratiot. His orders, as to its establishment, were in these words: "I wish you to establish a fort on the Detroit river near Lake Erie, with a garrison of fifty men; I desire you to choose an advantageous place to secure the passage, which may protect our savages who go to the chase, and serve them as an asylum against their enemies and ours." From this it would seem that Frontenac intended to have had this post established near where Detroit now stands; but M. du L'Hut, coming from Mackinac, stopped short of his instructions at Fort Gratiot. This fort was maintained for two years only; it was voluntarily abandoned in 1688.

In the Indian trade, much had been said against furnishing the Indians liquor; many investments had been spoiled and lives lost through troubles brought on from intoxication. Representations of these facts got across the ocean, to the ear of Louis XIV., and the result was what people nowadays call prohibition. True, our prohibitionists think they are very modern, but the fact is they are 200 years behind the French, as Michigan had positive prohibition in 1695 by edict of the French king; and I will quote from a letter of La Motte Cadillac to show you his opinion of it; he writes from Mackinac of which place he was then commandant: "It is a great mistake if people have an idea that this place is deserted; if it be possible that any are in this belief, I think it my duty to correct the erroneous impression. It is very important that you should know, in case you are not already informed, that this village is one of the largest in all Canada; there is a fine fort of pickets, and sixty houses, that form a street in a straight line; there is a garrison of well disciplined and chosen soldiers, consisting of about two hundred men, the best formed and most athletic to be found in this new world; besides many other persons who are residents here during two or three months in the year." You see it was a fashionable summer resort before Detroit was founded. "This being an indubitable fact, it seems to me that the place should not be deprived of the privilege which His Majesty has accorded to Montreal or Quebec—the privilege

of furnishing themselves with the necessary drinks for their use. This place is exposed to all kinds of fatigue and the situation of the place and the food require it. The houses are arranged along the shore, and fish and smoked meat constitute the principal food of the inhabitants, so that a drink of brandy, after the repast, seems necessary to cook the bilious meats and the crudities which they leave in the stomach; the air is penetrating and corrosive, and without the brandy that we have used in the morning, sickness will be much more frequent." Thus you see, also, that even the arguments in favor of the use of liquor sound quite modern.

But few American cities can be called old. Detroit is one of these, and is peculiar for an American city in that regard, as it was founded, as Silas Farmer remarks, before Peter the Great had built St. Petersburg. About Detroit many of the old French family names can be found, and not all the old surveys of concessions—long narrow strips of land each fronting on the river—have lost their peculiar boundary lines yet, and the name of the city itself, the Strait, is a legacy worthy of mention; it is not in honor of any saint or saintess as was quite their habit in names, but it is in honor of one of the grandest rivers of the continent, a water-way as fixed in its foundations as the earth, with an unvarying capacity, sufficient to float the commerce of the world. No wonder they recognized this spot as *the Strait, the water-way*, Detroit, yet there was an early effort continuing for many years to call the fort built there Ponchartrain, in honor of that same minister of marine of the reign of Louis XIV., for whom Lake Ponchartrain of Louisiana was afterwards named.

The French grasp took in and claimed all that breadth of country between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi to the Gulf, and it is probably because they had so much country—so many places to name—that we escaped so long and homely a cognomen for our metropolitan city, as Ponchartrain. Fancy the champions of that city in the House, now, being recognized as they arise in their places to plead for the boulevard, as the gentlemen from Ponchartrain.

The average Michigan citizen hardly takes into his historical knowledge the fact that the territory of our state was for so many years tributary to, and a part of New France. The fact is, ancestors and governors are easily forgotten when their tracks are obliterated. Our French pioneers left so few foot-prints on our soil, that it is no wonder they are forgotten. From 1622, our territory, particularly our coast line and the waters surrounding us, were recognized as under the control of the king of France, with the seat of local government at Quebec; and on down to the treaty of peace between France and England in 1763, our civilization was directed by and our Indian population and white traders were held in allegiance to the French monarchy.

Laws for Canada or New France came from the French king and from a local council at Quebec. A few samples may not come amiss to us, since law making is our present avocation. Louis the XIV. did not like his American subjects to swear, so he issued an edict that should have put a stop to that vice, and left the country more free from it than it is at this date. The following is the law: "It is our will and pleasure that all persons convicted of profane swearing or blaspheming the Name of God, The Most Holy Being, His Mother or the Saints, be condemned for the first offence to a pecuniary fine according to their possessions and the enormity of the oath; then if those thus punished repeat the said oaths, then for the second, third and fourth time they shall be condemned to a double, triple and quadruple fine, and for the fifth time they shall be set in the pillory on Sunday or other festival days, there to remain from eight in the morning till one in the afternoon, exposed to all sorts of opprobrium

and abuse, and be condemned besides to a heavy fine, and for the sixth time they shall be led to the pillory and then have the upper lip cut with a hot iron, and for the seventh time they shall be led to the pillory and have the lower lip cut, and if by reason of obstinacy and inveterate bad habit they continue after all these punishments to utter oaths and blasphemies, it is our will and command that they have the tongue completely cut out so that hereafter they cannot utter them again." Now to make sure of the enforcement of the law, it was made the duty of all who should hear any one swear to report the fact to the nearest judge within twenty-four hours on pain of fine. Thus we see that Connecticut did not have all the blue laws, and Puritans were not the only people in the world made moral by law.

Then these Frenchmen required loyalty. The Council of Quebec was so loyal itself that it would not permit the royalty, even of England, to be disrespected. In 1671 one Paul Dufray, talking of the English and Cromwell, had been heard to say that they did a good thing when they cut off the head of Charles I.; this was reported to the council and he was condemned to be dragged by the public executioner from the prison door, and led in his shirt, with a rope about his neck and a torch in his hand, to the gate of the fort and then to beg pardon of the commandant, thence to the pillory to be branded with a fleur-de-lis on the cheek and set in the stocks for half an hour, then back to prison and put in irons. Surely treason has never since been made quite so odious in this country, and this man's treason was only against the general doctrine that "A king can do no wrong." But all the ordinances, recorded by Parkman, of this council are not so cruel. One reads, "That besides white bread and light brown bread, all bakers shall make dark brown bread whenever the same shall be required." Probably this was a sanitary measure. Another of these old laws is as follows "Whereas, The people of this province raise too many horses, which prevents them from raising cattle and sheep, being ignorant of their true interests. Now, therefore, we command that each inhabitant of this government shall hereafter own no more than two horses or mares and one foal, the same to take effect after the sowing season of the ensuing year 1710, giving them time to rid themselves of their horses in excess of said number, after which they will be required to kill any of such excess that may remain in their possession." I presume some fellow with cattle or sheep to sell lobbied that bill through, to raise the price. It was some like our bill for inspection of beef on the hoof. I find one act which proves conclusively the tendency of the population to drift into the villages—their desire to be villagers rather than farmers. I am not sure but it would be a wholesome law now. It was a law "To promote agriculture and protect morals," and read as follows: "We prohibit and forbid all farmers or persons living in the country from removing to this town, Quebec, under any pretext whatever, without our permission in writing, on pain of being expelled and sent back to their farms, furniture and goods being confiscated and a fine of fifty francs for the benefit of hospitals. And furthermore we forbid all inhabitants of this town, Quebec, letting houses or rooms to persons coming in from the country on pain of a fine of one hundred francs, also for hospitals." No bonus for increased population in villages in those days.

In fact, they legislated as do law makers to-day upon all subjects: To regulate inns, markets, and the liquor traffic, for the preservation of game, as to church pews and tithes, stray hogs, mad dogs, matrimony, fast driving, wards and guardians, weights and measures, nuisances, coinage, trespass, and even at that early day on preservation of timber.

The first will probated under our government, of which I can find a record, was that of Saffray de Mezy,—Governor from 1663 to 1665 of New France, and terminating his office by his death. His will is curious to us in that it shows what a man who held such honors had to leave, and if we may judge from the items enumerated, he got for salary about the same we have been paying. Of course now that we have raised the salary, our future Governors will have something left after each has founded an orphan asylum. This will give an idea of the will: "I, Saffray de Mezy, seeing the end of my life approaching, mindful that it well becomes a citizen and the official to set his affairs in order at such a time, do pray my patron, Saint Augustine, with Saint John and Saint Peter to intercede for the pardon of my sins. I direct that my body shall be buried in the cemetery of the poor, at the hospital, as being unworthy of more honored sepulture. I bequeath to my friend Mayor Angoville two hundred francs, my coat of English cloth, my camlet mantle, a pair of new shoes, eight shirts with sleeve buttons, my sword and belt and a new blanket for his servant. I bequeath to Felix Aubert fifty francs, my gray jacket and small coat of gray serge which have been worn for awhile, also, one pair of long white stockings, and my best black coat, that he may wear mourning for me." Perhaps this accounts for the fact that one of our modern ex-Governors has been giving away clothes ever since he went out of office, to whole regiments of newsboys.

In all the early settlements of New France there was one idea predominating the whole, which was, that the territory must be divided among a host of rapacious political favorites, and no one allowed to enter upon commercial pursuits except as licensed by the favorite in charge, upon condition that tribute to both government and the favorite should be paid. Thus when Detroit was founded, Cadillac received authority from the king to build the town, together with the grant of land necessary for its site; he had been for some time at Mackinac, was naturally restless, and as he could not make any money there, he desired something better. To avoid long and tedious delays, he went himself to France, calling upon the minister of marine, Ponchartrain, at Versailles in person, when they settled the details of the plan for founding Detroit. La Motte Cadillac represented that the site of Detroit was the best place for a fort to keep the Iroquois and English in check, and that a greater variety of peltries were to be had in that locality than any other, giving the prices of skins as follows: Deer 16 francs, elk 20, black bear 10, etc. Said Ponchartrain: "If the king approve, I will give you two hundred men of different trades with six companies of soldiers." The King approved and Cadillac was soon on his return. The exclusive traffic in furs and goods was ceded to a company on consideration of the sum of six thousand francs annually to the government, and thus no man outside this company dare buy a beaver skin of an Indian or sell a settler an ax without permission of the authorities. This vicious system checked enterprise, stopped all healthy competition, and cramped all growth and development to the grasp of one man or company in each community; and this condition of things accounts for the fact that Detroit, after fifty years of struggle, was only a sparsely settled village of four hundred people. In fact, it had lost largely in numbers by white occupation, as for an unknown number of years it had been the site of a very populous Indian village called by the Hurons "Karontaen;" yet the government of France was so anxious to strengthen their holding at this point that they offered to every settler with a family, what they thought a living outfit, as follows: A hoe, ax, plowshare, sickle, scythe, two augurs (large and small), a sow, six hens and a cock, six pounds of powder and twelve pounds of lead; yet this magnificent offer induced only twelve families to settle there in the year 1751.

The accounts of the travels of these early French traders and couriers impress one with their courage and endurance, as they went on journeys of a thousand miles or more with only a bark canoe and a camping outfit of the most primitive sort; they assimilated with the Indians on a basis of freedom never attempted by the English, and for the hope of a bundle of furs braved the seasons and the elements. Ladies, whose husbands had gone before, endured journeys of this sort, suffering hardships and privations beyond our power to understand. Take the instance of La Motte Cadillac's wife; in September, 1701, she made the journey from Quebec to Detroit to join her husband, with one lady companion, Mrs. Tonty; these two in an open boat made the journey of one thousand miles with Indians and rough canoe-men (worse than Indians in some respects) for companions; surely we must admire their courage, endurance and devotion. Mrs. Cadillac lived to rear a large family of children, of whom record of six or seven may be found in the birth columns of the register of St. Anne's church, of Detroit now. Only two churches in Michigan furnish a continuous record for so great a number of years as does this same church of St. Anne's, of Detroit. It was founded with the city in 1701, and its records are continuous from 1704; the first log church with its records having been burned by the Indians in 1708.

Settlements were so slow at Detroit and business chances for making a fortune so poor, that Cadillac got discontented, and in 1712 we find him with all his family, founding the town of Mobile on the Gulf of Mexico. We think we travel about easily now, but these Frenchmen knew no distances, realized no hardships, they needed no railroads or palace cars.

Charlevoix was a French priest of our early history, whose name we have saved to posterity by conferring it upon a Michigan county; no traveler was any more versatile or chronicler more voluminous than he. The reader may spend days in searching his six large volumes of relations, following him through America with various diversions of returns to France, through Canada to Hudson Bay, back to Quebec, on a tour of the lakes to Michigan soil, where he spent some time in 1721, on to the great west and southwest by way of the Mississippi and return, and when he has done, he will only remember a confused account of bickering and quarreling between commanders and traders, between couriers and settlers, between Iroquois and Algonquins, between English and French, interspersed with Indian conversions and baptisms under duress, massacres, and scalping, and an occasional gleam of some wonderful mysterious sign or portent that he discovered in the heavens, as he was ever watching for some omen upon which he could place superstitious significance. True, the other early writers are not much behind him in superstitions, and the reader sometimes finds it hard to determine whether the Indians or the whites are the more ridiculous in their theology. Referring to some of the inhuman war practices and methods recorded by Charlevoix, I am reminded of an instance in my own legislative experience, where an Indian massacre was recalled. At the opening of a session some years back, I asked a member as to the pronunciation of his name, it being one unfamiliar to me. He said: "I do not know myself. I have no pride in the name." Seeing my astonishment at his reply he continued: "True it is all the name I have got, but it don't belong to me all the same." As he seemed entirely candid, I asked him to explain his words, and he did so about as follows: "You have no doubt read of the kind of warfare the Indians inflicted upon the pioneers all over this country—the stealthy march, the gathering of painted braves around some remote frontier neighborhood, and the Indian yell of ferocity as they pounced on unsuspecting settlers who were struggling with nature for

existence, murdering indiscriminately, men, women and children. Well, my grandparents were the victims of such a savage massacre. All the family were cruelly murdered, except one child, a mere babe, a boy, who was saved and adopted by an Indian woman and reared as one of the tribe. When he grew to manhood, perhaps twenty-five years old, he came under the notice of a Quebec trader who learned from the Indians his origin, took a fancy to, and traded a pony for him. This man lived with the trader some years, took the trader's name as he had none of his own, but finally married and came to Michigan. This man was my father, and the name you asked about is the name of the Quebec trader which he assumed." This son who was a member of the House, is prominent in Michigan politics now, and has been with us several times this winter. I never see him but I think what a splendid foundation for one of Cooper's novels the story of his ancestry would make. Charlevoix said the Indians did not know how to make maple sugar until learned by the French, when they at once made large quantities every year; he found one Detroit merchant who had on hand 40,000 pounds. But is it not more probable that there were other reasons for the quick development of that industry; how could they boil the sap, in any quantity, until French traders came with kettles, and if they made any sugar at all, they would only have occasion to make what they wanted themselves; for commerce and exchange they certainly learned of the French.

History has not always been harmonious as to the location of Mackinac. The Indian word Michillimackinac signified "great turtle," and is supposed to have been originally applied to the island which somewhat resembles the turtle in shape; but in some way the word was not only used to designate the island, but the land on both sides of the strait, the waters of which also bore the same name.

The English trader, Henry, who spent years at that port, says the fort and the mission of St. Ignace, were both on the south side of the strait, while Father Marvest and Father Cadillac both say that those places were on the north side. Now I think both were right, for the fort was first on the north side, and remained there until 1714, when a palisaded fort and trading place were established on the main land of the southern peninsula, which monopolized most of the business of that locality, until its destruction in 1768.

In the early settlement the beaver skin was the unit of value; it was the propelling force that pushed the trader and courier into the wilderness, that kept the French and English at antagonism, that carried the priest with his portable altar and confessional paraphernalia to Indian villages and solitary wigwams; and so great had this trade become that in 1670 to 1680 the French export of skins at Canadian valuation was estimated at an average of 300,000 francs a year, and no doubt the European value was double or treble that.

The antagonisms between the English, with the Iroquois as allies, and the French supported by the Algonquin races, continually increased as the years went on. The English and French were good haters at home, but here in the wilderness of America, surrounded by savages, both parties partook of the nature of their surroundings, and were guilty of acts, done in the name of civilization, that are a disgrace to history. But fortunately it is a law that increasing ills finally reach a point where they cure themselves, they get so bad that they cannot be endured, and these troubles culminated on the plains of Abraham, near Quebec, in 1759. Two well equipped armies, two skillful generals, Montcalm and Wolf, met face to face to settle by force of arms the title to a continent, and both generals gave their lives to that settlement, a spec-

tacle for gods and men. The accumulated storm of 150 years broke upon that plain and it well becomes us, who enjoy the fruits of that settlement, to believe that an all wise hand controlled it for the best.

Though the storm was over, there were still clouds and mutterings all about the horizon.

The French army was gone, but the French settlers, traders, couriers and their Indian friends remained. Prominent among these Indians, was a chief of the Ottawas—Pontiac. He was reared near the Thames river, Canada, and so firm a friend of the French was he, that he could not forgive the English for their victory over them. In 1762 he called all the Algonquin tribes together, and by his eloquence succeeded in organizing them into the most extensive Indian campaign ever organized on the continent, called "Pontiac's Conspiracy," which was no less than a skillfully devised plan to capture by stratagem nine English forts simultaneously, in the following spring. Eight of those efforts he put under the direction of others, reserving to himself the detail of the reduction of Detroit.

The chief of the Ojibwas, Minavavana, had in charge the fort at Mackinac, and from a savage standpoint, he did his work well, leaving but few to tell the tale. He selected the 4th of June, the birthday of King George, which the fort would celebrate, as a favorable time; in this he judged equally well. On a plain adjoining the fort the Indians assembled and engaged in a game of ball, inviting the soldiers to witness it. A multitude of squaws wrapped in blankets, wandered about among the crowd or squatted against the palisades; the soldiers, in holiday fashion, stood in groups about the open gates watching the progress of the game, the players all athletic, agile figures nearly naked, with loose hair flying in the wind, at one moment crowded together struggling for the ball, at the next scattered again and running over the grounds like hounds in full cry. Suddenly from their midst the ball soared into the air and descended within the pickets of the fort. This was the signal for their tragic work. The Indians in a tumultuous throng rushed toward the open gate, each grasping as he passed a hatchet or other weapon, which the squaws had concealed beneath their blankets for the occasion. Never was surprise more complete. The little garrison was annihilated; says one writer, only one Englishman, a trader by the name of Henry, was left alive, and he was hidden by French friends; but Sheldon in his "Early Michigan" records that, "Captain Etherington, Lieutenant Lealie and eleven men were held as prisoners and afterwards exchanged." The outcome of this was to end the occupation of that point of land on the Lower Peninsula known as Mackinac, and until the arrival of the locomotive in recent years, this point was much neglected, the fort being permanently located on the island in 1780.

Sault Ste Marie, now for convenience called the Soo, had been partially destroyed by fire and abandoned as a fortification the winter before the destruction of Mackinac, and Green Bay was evacuated immediately after. The Indians had destroyed the forts at the mouth of the St. Joseph river and at Sandusky, Miami and Presque Isle. In all the lake country only Detroit remained to hear from, and something of how Pontiac himself succeeded in his stratagem there, will be told in another way to conclude this article.

In the rotunda of the capitol of Illinois the State has placed a series of bas-reliefs in bronze, very conspicuous, as illustrative of their State history. The first of these is the figure of a French trader standing before two Indians, on the shoulder of one a bundle of furs, while the other extends his hand, from which dangles a beaver

skin toward the trader who in turn is holding out several strings of beads to the Indian, ready to trade (pennies for dollars); and the second of this series of bronzes represents an Indian woman with a child, a papoose, in her arms, standing before a French priest, who is in the act of placing his right hand upon the child's head in baptism, as in his left hand he holds the bowl of water blessed for that rite. I speak of these two scenes at Springfield because they would be just as fitting at Lansing as illustrative of our history; and I doubt not the time has now nearly come when Michigan will ornament her capitol with bronzes or paintings in memory of her early history. I have often thought in this connection that I would like to give directions for one pair of such pictures. They should represent a May day of 1763. The first should show a primitive fort of palisades—cedar poles planted in the ground and standing twenty-five feet in height with sharpened tops, marking out a nearly square piece of ground with block houses at each corner and over two gate-ways; the whole enclosure containing perhaps fifty log houses, covered with thatch or shakes, arranged so as to leave an open court or square for parade. In the foreground of this scene should be a noble river upon whose waters should float two small armed vessels, the Beaver and the Gladwin; the hour should be about nine o'clock in the morning; upon one side of the parade ground should be about 100 English soldiers, full armed, drawn up in line of battle ready for engagement; in front of them Major Gladwyn, their commander, who has just been saying to them: "Soldiers, you have been placed in line to do honor to the company we expect to receive today, Pontiac and his braves; should their visit be social and peaceable we shall receive them in a spirit as friendly as they come, but as we have reason to expect treachery and conspiracy, you are to be ready at command to deal blow for blow should it become necessary." By the way, this Major Gladwyn is the same who was with General Braddock at his great ambushade and defeat by the Indians and French near Pittsburg eight years before, where also was Washington and others of revolutionary fame; he was baptized in the fire of that day and saved to confront as wily and savage a chieftain as ever the annals of our country produced. The companion picture should represent the same scene one hour later. Pontiac with his sixty well selected athletic warriors, each with his blanket closely wrapped about his body so as to conceal the gun, cut short for the purpose, and hid beneath it, each of whom has filed in and stands in line with his fellows where he can see between the buildings the line of English soldiers drawn up as for parade or engagement. Pontiac's keen eye has taken in the situation at a glance. He knows that his own cherished plan of surprise and slaughter has been revealed, that it has failed, and in spite of all an Indian's stoicism there is that surprise on his face that gives satisfaction to Major Gladwyn as he closely watches him. Pontiac gives himself time to collect his thoughts by proceeding with his peace harangue—by his protestation of friendship—by his proffer of belts of wampum; but he is very careful not to give the signal agreed upon with his men for the commencement of the slaughter, which was to be the reversing of one of these wampum belts as he held it in his hands before him while making the address.

The picture should represent this scene just at the moment when Pontiac's oratory finished, his false friendship promised, hatred gleaming from his eyes the while. Major Gladwyn, sword in hand, steps in front of him and with its point reveals the presence of the gun concealed beneath the blanket, and firmly asks: "Was this to show your friendship?" These two pictures should tell to future generations the bravery of our plucky Major Gladwyn, and lead them to read with interest the wonderful

story of the siege of Detroit. Much has been written as to how Major Gladwyn was informed of this conspiracy; the usually accepted story is that an Indian woman—a maiden perhaps—out of friendship for the Major—perhaps not a platonic friendship—revealed the plot; and as Pontiac had a woman severely whipped the next day, perhaps that was her offense; but there are others who think that treachery was first suspected on account of so many of the Indians getting their gun barrels cut down so that the stock and barrel both only measured two feet in length, and could be easily concealed beneath their blankets. The work occupied some time, as it was mainly done by the Indians themselves; but the procurement of files from the few blacksmith shops of that time and the slow work of filing off the barrels came to the notice of several white persons who suspected mischief.

I cannot resist suggesting one more picture for the rotunda of the Capitol, and its theme shall be taken from the same interesting source—"Pontiac's Conspiracy." After his failure to surprise the fort, he withdrew in apparent friendship, yet filled with a determination to be avenged. His Indian blood boiled with its intense desire for English scalps. Pretty Belle Isle was then plain Hog Island, and was being utilized by Major Gladwyn, for a grazing place for his herd of cattle, from which the fort was supplied with meat. What could be more fitting for the purpose—excellent pasture, unlimited water, no fences, no herding required; here one or two persons were in charge of the stock, and here did Pontiac strike his first blow, killing those in charge and taking possession of the herd as a part of his commissary department. And right here let me narrate, how a few weeks later when his supplies were low and he had no means of replenishing them, he exhibited his genius and skill. He was on good terms with the French farmers along the river on both sides; he kept his warriors, as much as possible, from foraging upon them, but his needs were sore; he must abandon the siege or have food. He went to these French farmers, told them his wants, told them he must take their produce and stock, and that within a reasonable time after the close of the siege he would pay for it, and he, unlettered savage as he was, issued promises to pay, on birch bark, a French clerk doing the writing, but each promise signed by Pontiac's own totem. These were the first greenbacks ever circulated in Michigan. But the strangest part of the whole history is this; the historian informs us that these promises were all paid, strictly paid. After months of failure to take the fort and destroy the English, Pontiac kept his promises to the French. But to return to the picture. It should be a night scene just after the seizure of the herd on Hog Island. Pontiac thought he could see a way to safely burn the two armed sloops which were riding at anchor near the river gate of the fort, and with the sagacity of a schooled general, he proceeded to fill the waters about the lower end of Hog Island with rafts formed with dry wood-bark and all combustible material at his command. As midnight approached these rafts were fired and released from their moorings with the hope that the current of the river would carry them down to the vessels so that they would be set on fire. Fancy the scene, as the rafts sail out on this mission of destruction, a lurid glare spreading over the river revealing dimly the forests upon its banks; in the gloom, the outline of the fort just revealed; on the island at the extreme right, an innumerable horde of half naked Indians dancing and yelling with fiendish glee about several brush fires—the bodies of the mutilated victims of the island lying near to support their enthusiasm. Read Milton's "Paradise Lost," or Dante's "Inferno," if you will, and tell me where can a scene be found more filled with the elements of Hades than this. No picture in the Capitol at Washington can furnish the lights and

shades that are possible in this. I would represent it just as some of the rafts have neared the locality of the sloops, spreading forth upon the air of night the black smoke of their fires; just visible by their gleaming light should be the dusky forms of soldiers with long poles keeping these fiery messengers away from the vessels, while an occasional flash of light should reveal a line of soldiery on the shore waiting and ready for any further developments of Pontiac's sagacity.

But I have certainly reached the bounds of time expected for this article, and will close with a little poem near seventy years old. It is descriptive of the many advantages claimed for our State, and was first published in a Detroit newspaper—The Gazette—in 1824.

“ Know ye the land to the emigrant dear,
Where the wild flower is blooming one half of the year;
Where the dark-eyed chiefs of the native race,
Still meet in the council and pant in the chase;
Where armies have rallied, by day and by night,
To strike or repel, to surrender or fight?
Know ye the land of the billow and breeze,
That is poised, like an isle, 'mid fresh water seas,
Whose forests are ample, whose prairies are fine,
Whose soil is productive, whose climate benign?
Remote from extremes, neither torrid or cold,
’Tis the land of the sickle, the plow and the fold; ”
’Tis a region no eye ere forgets or mistakes,
’Tis the land for improvement, the land of the lakes.
Our streams are the clearest that nature supplies,
And Italy's beauties are marked in our skies,
And the isle-spotted lakes that encircle our plains
Are the largest and purest this planet contains.”

The Origin of the Committee of the Whole.

AN ADDRESS

BY

HON. DAN'L L. CROSSMAN,

BEFORE THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

1889.

Unbounded power and height of greatness give
To kings that luster which we think divine ;
The wise, who know them, know they are but men ;
Nay, sometimes weak ones too. The crowd, indeed,
Who kneel before the image, not the god,
Worship the deity their hands have made."

—Rowe.

EXTRACT FROM HOUSE JOURNAL.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, }
May 7, 1889.

Mr. Pealer offered the following :

Resolved, That the Hon. D. L. Crossman, Clerk of the House, be and he is hereby requested to deliver his lecture on the "Origin of the Committee of the Whole," in Representative hall this evening, April 7, at 7:30 P. M., and that the use of the hall be granted him for that purpose.

Which was adopted.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, }
May 8, 1889.

Mr. Pealer offered the following :

WHEREAS, The Clerk, by former action of the House, has been directed to publish in pamphlet form the address given by him, entitled "The Early French Occupation of Michigan," which address is now being put in type, therefore

Resolved, That the Clerk be now requested to include in the same pamphlet his address of last evening entitled "Origin of the Committee of the Whole," that both the Clerk and House may be supplied with a like number of copies of both addresses.

Which was adopted.

THE ORIGIN OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE.

The circumstances which led to the introduction of that peculiar feature in parliamentary practice known as "Committee of the Whole" cannot be fully explained without including in the narrative some very interesting incidents of English history; and if I should be quite liberal in my measure as to surroundings necessary to a fair understanding of the case, my defense will be that a little English history, on its own account, ought not to be objected to by any, and may be to some much more interesting than the topic I have chosen, considered for itself alone.

The doctrine of the survival of the fittest applies as fully to rules for the government of deliberative bodies as to any other subject; the experience of the world has made them. The precedents and decisions that have come down to us have survived because they are fit to live; they have outlived other forms and methods because they better answer the purpose for which they were instituted. Thus the Committee of the Whole, once established, continued, until it became a part of all legislation because its freedom from restraint, its independence of record, in fact its informality, furnishes the best opportunity for a general interchange of views, consistent with any form of an organized assembly.

The Saxon "Witenagemote" or "Assembly of the Wise" and the English Parliament or "Free Speaking Council" both originated in times when records were very poorly kept, and the exact date of their beginnings, or the circumstances attending, will never be known. Undoubtedly they came into being as the result of fierce conflicts between peoples and their rulers, since the history of the world is the history of one continuous struggle for more enlightened government. The English barons under King John, lost all representation, and only by force of arms recovered it again, establishing the rights of the people by the forced acceptance of a constitution framed on the battle field in 1215. A constitution is the primary code for deliberative proceedings; there is no need for a constitution when there is no legislative body. Early Parliaments consisted of one body only, in which effort was made to represent the spiritual, temporal and physical wants of the Kingdom; but at some time in the 15th century, the exact year cannot be told, the Lords or aristocratic element, being those more nearly connected to the King, and holding life terms of office, withdrew from the Commons, as became their dignity, and set up for themselves a distinct deliberative body. Yet this House of Lords was not established at a stroke, but gradually, by repeated withdrawals and sittings. At first it was little more than a self appointed committee of the kingly element, separating themselves for conference, until by usage it was found to be advantageous to have two deliberative bodies instead of one for the government of a nation, and the practice lived because it was fit to live.

It was one of the grave questions with which the founders of our government had to contend, whether it was better in a country without Earls and Counts to establish as a part of our Congress an upper House; Washington and Monroe were, perhaps, as responsible for the adoption of this system as any other two persons. There was

great fear in those days of too much centralized power—of interference with state rights; so it was one theory of the times that an upper House, representing the individuality—the statehood of the respective states was desirable. There is a very pretty story extant on this subject: It relates to a time just after the constitution was adopted, when Washington, as president, was living in the residence supplied to the executive by the government in New York, and is particularly interesting just at this time of the centennial celebration of kindred events. Jefferson had been abroad for years trying to establish commercial and political treaties for the new government; but Washington, desiring his services as secretary of state, had sent for him to come home. He arrived a month after the inauguration to find all the machinery of the new government in motion, and with his natural interest in the subject dearest to his heart, eager to discuss all the methods employed. His arrival was on Sunday. He went directly to the executive mansion, so that at the breakfast table on Monday occurred his first opportunity for a secular talk with his old friend and host. During that meal he asked of Washington: "Why did you consent to an upper House for the government of a people without hereditary aristocracy?" After giving some reasons pertinent to the subject, Washington asked this question: "Why did you just now pour out your coffee in the saucer?" Jefferson replied, "My throat is not brass, I poured out the coffee to cool." "That," said Washington, "illustrates the safety and good purpose of a second law-making body; to operate as a cooling basin for the first." That the plan adopted was wise, has been proven by the universal verdict of the American people, in that every State pursues substantially the same methods; no State of our Union having had the independence or temerity to declare for a single legislative council. In fact some large cities have adopted the second or upper council for local government, and our own city of Detroit furnishes the only instance on record, so far as I know, of a failure of that system to satisfy the governed.

There is a sense in which the practice of the Committee of the Whole is illustrated by this story of Washington and Jefferson. The Committee of the Whole, free from the restraints of a real law making body, is thoroughly and properly a cooling or settling basin for the body itself, as in it the various measures pending can be brought to the proper condition, fitted for acceptance and use, or precipitated as dregs for ejection.

We have quite recently had a very joyous inauguration day in this country, one probably equal in display, decoration and expense, to anything of the sort that ever happened with us since our government began; but let the American citizen be ever so patriotic, let him think ever so strongly that no country on the earth ever did, or can change its chief officer, with so great safety, quiet, peace and good will, as can we of the United States, that no executive officers ever were installed with so pretentious ceremonies or happy auguries as are ours; but before the citizen is entirely certain on this point, I ask that he read of the triumphal progress of James the VI., of Scotland, from Edinburgh to London, when in the spring of 1603, upon the death of Elizabeth, he received the call to become James the I., of United Britain.

That journey occupied more than a month, yet it was an inauguration and an ovation from beginning to end. Thousands daily and nightly thronged the route of that progress from Holyrood to Windsor, and the cost of the journey to the Scottish Crown, says the historian, was a sum equal to \$53,000.00; and when we consider that the English nobility vied with each other to play the gracious honored host, that their castles were open and resources taxed to supply all the wants of the populace, we can easily

see that the sum named is small as compared with what it cost England to welcome Elizabeth's successor to her throne.

And yet, grand as was this display, it was entirely eclipsed fourteen years later when this same king returned over the same road, near 400 miles long, from London to Edinburgh on a friendly visit to the home of his childhood, accompanied by 5,000 retainers, at a moneyed expense to the Crown of over half a million dollars.

Elizabeth had given the English people 45 years of very good government, as governments went in those times. True, in those times of religious persecution, heads were easily removed from shoulders, especially by bloody Mary in the five preceding years and some of the like excesses, such as the beheading of Mary Queen of Scots and Lord Essex, not only stained the protestant reign of Elizabeth but they embittered the last days of her life, and formed a blot upon the history of an era as brilliant in social and literary achievements as any the world has ever known—the era of Bacon and Shakespere. No event of her life was so particularly unfortunate for her as the death of Lord Essex. There can be no doubt that the virgin Queen, old as she was, entertained an honest love for this nobleman. She was 68 to his 84, but he had filled her ideal of the true knight, and years before, in accordance with a common custom of those times, she had given him a ring with the assurance that he might at any time return it with any request he desired to make, and the request, if within her power, would be granted. Elizabeth had believed that Lord Essex had died upon the block, with this ring in his possession, scorning her good offices, too proud to ask his life of her; but a few months before her death she was undeceived; she learned the terrible truth, that Essex had relied upon her promise until the last, had sent the ring with his request for life, which she was waiting and longing to grant, but that through some fatal mistake the boy charged with this important errand gave the ring and message to the Countess of Nottingham instead of Lady Scroope, as directed. The countess, with the ring upon which hung a life in her possession, entered into an intrigue with Essex's enemies and suppressed the message, only confessing her crime on her death bed years after. This confession of such terrible facts shortened Elizabeth's life and caused her to experience all the agonies of the lost. Thus miserably ended the life of one of the most brilliant women in the world's history, a woman whose wardrobe embraced over three thousand different dresses and eighty wigs of as many different colors and curls, a woman whose vanity caused her to banish all mirrors from her apartments, that she might not see that she was growing old, a woman and queen, who, though not fortunate in circumstances attending her infancy, grew up without a mother's love or counsel to grace the throne of England, as the last of the kingly line of Tudors.

Her father, Henry the VIII. was a very much married man. He had six wives in about twice that number of years; first his brother's widow, Catharine of Arragon, who presented him Mary, and whom for three years he sought in vain, for lack of cause, to divorce, only because he was enamored of another, a waiting maid of the first; second, Anne Boleyn, who presented him Elizabeth, and whom to repay he beheaded, that he might after one day's mourning, by wearing of white garments, marry her waiting maid; third, Jane Seymour, who presented him Prince Edward and died, saving him thereby all the trouble he had had with her predecessors in divorcing or convicting them; fourth, Anne of Cleves, whose Flanders style of beauty did not please his royal highness, so she was divorced; fifth, Catharine Howard, who pleased him for a short time, but soon fell under his displeasure, when her head was brought

to the block, and sixth, Catharine Parr, who succeeded in surviving this historical Blue Beard king. Thus had Henry married three Catherines, two Annes, and one Jane, only one of whom had died a natural death to release herself from the wedlock. Need the reader of history look any further for the reason why Elizabeth never married? How could she look upon domestic relations otherwise than with detestation, when she remembered the seething witches' cauldron from which she sprang. Her personal knowledge of wedded bliss was enough to deter the boldest from ever seriously contemplating its horrors.

But upon the death of Elizabeth the same England, which, years before, had so cruelly executed the mother, the beautiful Mary, Queen of Scots, now turned with fawning flattery to her ill-formed son, James, and crowned him king—the first of the Stuarts. The Committee of the Whole had its origin during his reign, and some knowledge of his personal peculiarities, as well of the history of his times, is necessary to a proper appreciation of the circumstances of the case—to form a background to our view. I think it was Holmes who, when asked how early should the education of a child begin, replied: "A hundred years before it is born." Undoubtedly blood does tell, and heredity is worthy of consideration. The English people were not unmindful of this in their selection of this Scottish scion, but there were especial circumstances occurring before the birth of King James which perhaps are responsible for the very traits in his character which led up to the commencement or introduction of that freedom of action typified by an organization known as the Committee of the Whole.

Historians will never agree as to whether or not Mary, Queen of Scots, deserved the treatment she received from her husband, Henry Stuart, known as Lord Darnley; as to whether she was a true wife or guilty of the intrigues charged, or not; but there is no doubt she had a great fondness for the society of an Italian musician by the name of David Rizzio, whom she had appointed her private secretary, and this fondness continued until Darnley was wrought up to the pitch of murder by it—a crime which he finally accomplished by the employment of two assassins, who, at his direction, found a way of falling upon their victim in the private apartment of the Queen, as she and one or two lady friends were about to sit down to tea. Rizzio, seeing his danger, undertook to shield himself behind the person of Mary, clinging to her clothing and dragging her about as his defense, until the table was upset and the lights extinguished. But the struggle was short. Rizzio was stabbed many times, until his life blood was wasted over the room and its occupants, and Mary, from her delicate condition, more dead than alive, was removed to her bed. Three months later she gave birth to a child—which child, after thirty-seven years of development and experience not necessary to our purpose, became James the I. of England. It is no wonder that this child was born into the world with constitutional peculiarities, that his jaws were narrow, his tongue large, and his throat hardly up to the requirements of swallowing the food necessary to growth, that he did not walk until he was six years old, and that his legs never grew to anything but spindles, which twisted about each other at every step. We shall not think it strange that this child could be thrown into convulsions at sight of a naked dagger or drawn sword, and that he should grow into a weak, timid man, watchful of all his surroundings, and ever doubtful of, and sometimes dangerous to, his best friends. Add to these peculiarities the fact that he brought to the English throne a new family name, a broad Scotch language and accent, manners far from polished or genteel, as viewed by the former attachés of Elizabeth's stylish court, and you will have grasped a few of the scenes in the background of our

view illustrating the relations existing between James the I. and his English subjects. Not even a King can make all his environments, else would James have been a different man, for he was crowned King of Scotland at the tender age of thirteen months and ten days; but even this early exaltation was not able to shield him from the unfortunate circumstances attending his birth, the evil consequences of a drunken nurse, and the popular clamor of religious persecution that deprived him of a mother's care and counsel from that hour. Not being able to develop in muscle and brawn, the requisites and ideals of those times, he took more kindly to books, and became a prodigy in education, thus preparing the way for the very conspicuous part he took in mature years—1611—in establishing the old popular English version of the Bible. Says Sully of him: "He was the wisest fool in Christendom."

It seems established now that parliaments have power to name the sovereign who shall succeed to the throne when the king dies, but it was not settled then. It took the iron hand of Cromwell, through the stern ruling of the commonwealth, to develop the power of the people's representatives to govern, a power which has not been overthrown, if questioned in England since those years. It is not likely that had Elizabeth named any other than James as her successor, that her wish would have been heeded. The family of Henry the VIII. was exhausted, and by general consent, James of Scotland being of the English royal line, a few cousinly removes, came nearer to the popular idea than any other person for the succession. Then his protestant toleration made him quite acceptable to the English people; and so the fullness of time brought about a union of the two countries, easily and naturally accomplishing what Edward the III. and Henry the VIII. had both failed to do. Yet for many years this union was only in name—in a king. The Presbyterianism of John Knox did not assimilate with anything. The Catholicism that could conspire to produce the gunpowder plot of Catesby and thereby hope to blow into eternity both King and Parliament, or as Fawkes expressed it "blow the Scotch beggars back to their native mountains;" the high church Episcopalianism of Elizabeth and the Puritanism that could produce a character like Praise God Barebones, who was so conspicuous in Cromwell's Parliament of the commonwealth, were elements that could not be fused by any methods then known to English civilization. It was these religious sects, each unyielding, which led to the voyage of the Mayflower, and the world wide toleration of our times which had its springs in, and broke loose from, the blood of the martyrs.

Under the reign of Elizabeth, it may be said that the House of Commons had increased much in importance. That Queen had created very few titles, having a decided aversion to belittling her nobility by increasing their number. While the House of Lords had been decreasing in number and importance, the Commons was built up. Trade and commerce had increased, business men had developed and multiplied until at James' accession to the throne the House of Commons represented far more wealth and power than did the House of Lords. Another peculiar institution must be mentioned. For a long time and under several sovereigns of England, commencing with Henry the VII, there had been in existence a body known as the Court of the Star Chamber. This was especially a King's Council, convened in a certain inner private room in Westminster, the ceiling of which was decorated with gilded stars, from which the Court took its name, and which name—Star Chamber—has become a synonym for secret meetings wherever the English language is spoken. This Court had the sovereign for a head and was made up of such individuals as he from time to time invited to participate, and no knowledge of what occurred therein ever

reached the outside ear, or was committed to record. This Star Chamber Court was in a certain sense a threat held over every man's life, liberty, and property, and as it did not represent the average citizen in any way, it was very unpopular with the people and their representatives in the House of Commons. James was as glad to avail himself of the benefits of this secret Court as his predecessors had been before him, and its sessions were rendered of greater consequence at that time by reason of the Romish conspiracy to blow both King and Parliament into eternity at one stroke by the gunpowder plot, which was no less an undertaking than that of placing thirty-six barrels of powder in the basement of the Parliament House, directly under the large room where it was the custom of both Houses to assemble at the opening of a session, in great pomp, to hear the message of the King.

This conspiracy came very near success; the powder was in position, secreted under billets of wood, rubbish and coal, the train was laid by which it was to be fired, and at midnight only, before the opening day, Guy Fawkes, the man selected for his coolness as the instrument of death, was arrested while on guard at his post, with the flint and steel for igniting the tinder on his person. Here was a scheme for deliberately annihilating every branch of the government, with the hope that in the utter confusion which was expected to follow, the established church and puritanism would be disposed of forever. This method of disposing of James and his government may have been suggested to these Catholic conspirators by the historical fact that James' father—Lord Darnley—came to his death in a similar way by the blowing up of his bed-chamber in Edinburgh, when James was an infant a few weeks old.

Taking into account all these circumstances, we can easily understand that King James, with his hereditary weakness and fear of weapons, with his inability to walk about without the aid of support, dependent upon courtiers to sustain him as he made his appearance in official or social circles, should have devised some unusual plans to keep himself informed as to the opinions, attitude and language of those of whom he had the right to expect loyalty.

One of those plans to ascertain the drift of events would not be necessary in our days of open sessions, daily journals, newspaper reporters and electric dispatches, but it must be remembered that even parliamentary sessions then, were all secret, no visitors were permitted; and even now, so slow to change is the English government, that visitors are only admitted on permits, cards obtained by special courtesy, and the speaker, whose duty it is to see that there are none but members present, is presumed not to see visitors at all. If his attention is called to it, and he is obliged to take notice of the fact that there are "strangers among the workmen," or visitors in the hall, he is obliged to expel them, and tickets or permits are of no avail. Thus neither the King or the citizen was permitted to know what the legislative bodies were doing or had done. True the King's councillors sat in the House of Lords, and they undoubtedly informed their master of what transpired there, somewhat; but among the elective members of the House of Commons the King had no direct representative, and probably no one upon whom he could rely, except the officers—speaker, clerk and sergeant-at-arms. At least he preferred to rely upon these, perhaps, because these officers were his creatures. True, the speaker was selected from the body itself; but he must be first nominated by the will of the King, as expressed by one of his privy councillors selected by Star Chamber proceedings and simply endorsed by the House, and when he for any reason became objectionable to the King, a way was found to depose him.

The speaker's place was no easy one, "To hold an even balance between royal prerogative on the one hand and the rights of the people on the other." Of course the chances were that the man would be well selected by the kingly party for his unswerving fidelity to the power that named him, and the cases are on record where such a presiding officer, when the action of the House was against the interests of the crown, has, in the discharge of his duty, declared the assembly adjourned without motion or vote, and gone directly to the King with a narrative of the circumstances, to ask for directions.

The clerk was then and is still appointed by a patent of the crown, for life, with power to make and discharge the duties of his office by a deputy. Such an officer would not be likely to have any doubt as to whom he was expected to serve. He would not experience any difficulty in producing the files and records of his office for the examination of his royal master, even though he was required to take them from the legislative desks and read them to His Majesty and the privy council in the secret precincts of the Star Chamber, and it is a matter of history that at a secret reading of this journal of commons, the clerk, in the third parliament of James, attended with his book, as he was ordered, and, when he had completed the reading, the King, with his own hand, tore from the record the famous protest of the Commons concerning their privileges, which they had that day solemnly caused to be entered therein.

The sergeant-at-arms was an officer appointed also by the King to hold his office at the King's pleasure. His duties were by no means unimportant. He was first expected to take care that no strangers, or visitors, except with royal authority, should witness the proceedings or hear what was said; all persons not members were strangers. He was to serve all warrants and processes of the House and have the custody of all persons arrested and brought before the House by its orders; but he was an officer of the crown and to serve only during the pleasure of the crown, and in no sense was he a representative of the people. The emblem of this office is a mace or ornamented club of convenient size, which was first authorized by Charles the I. "On the assembling of a Parliament," says Cushing, "the mace is brought to the House by the sergeant-at-arms and placed under the table of the House, where it remains until a speaker is chosen, and then it is placed upon the table, where it is always kept while the House is sitting and the speaker in the chair." The speaker has the keeping of the mace; it is always carried before him when he enters the House or leaves it, borne on the shoulders of the sergeant-at-arms. When the mace lies upon the table of the House, the assembly is a House, when it is under the table the House is in the Committee of the Whole. When the mace is out of the House by reason of the non-attendance of the speaker, from sickness or other cause not previously provided for, nothing can be done but to adjourn.

On special occasions, such as the receipt of a messenger or committee from the House of Lords, or when an offender is brought to the bar of the House, the sergeant-at-arms parades with the mace on his shoulder, and at such time no member except the speaker can say a word or make a motion. Thus the mace is an emblem of the life principle of a legislative body, and as such is worthy our consideration. Our national House of Representatives at Washington has a very beautiful club of this kind standing upright in a substantial pedestal at the right hand of the speaker's chair; it is near three feet long, carved and bronzed with a ball at the upper end, representing the earth, upon which sits with extended wing the American eagle. I am told that this emblem of power has very seldom in our history been taken from the socket of its

pedestal, but it was my good fortune at the time of the Hayes electoral count to see it in use. It was a night session preceding the opening of the returns, and confusion reigned supreme. The speaker had been trying by a vigorous use of the gavel to obtain a semblance of decorum, but trying in vain; the members were mostly on their feet and moving about, while ten or twenty at a time were exerting all their lung power to be recognized by the Speaker. In the midst of this pandemonium the speaker directed the sergeant-at-arms to parade the aisles with the mace, which that official then proceeded to do with great dignity, carrying this emblem of power upon his shoulder, the members giving way before him. I think it must have been some such scene as that which was witnessed by the foreigner referred to in a late magazine item as follows: "A foreigner conversing with an American citizen as to governments, said he had always had doubts as to the perpetuity of the American Republic—as to its ability to stand the test of time, and the shock of conflict brought about by ambitious interests"—"but," said he, "now, that I have been to Washington and seen your Congress in session, all my doubts are removed; a country that can stand that can stand anything."

But to return to my subject: From conditions as I have stated them, it is very apparent that the Commons were continually under the surveillance of officers of the King, who from the very nature of the case, in the event of conflict, were little more than spies of one department of the government upon another branch. "It was in the power of the individual members," says Cushing, "to introduce such topics as they pleased, and to submit motions and questions for the consideration of the House, but it was the usual and more regular course for the speaker himself to frame the question, from the turn of the debate. Thus the questions submitted to the House were greatly in the power of the speaker and clerk. Then the rule that no member should speak more than once upon a question was then, as now, enforced."

That rule being found in the code of most legislative bodies it is probable that experience has proven it necessary, and with free discussion in Committee of the Whole it is very fitting that we now have such a rule for the House, when final action is required and but little more than "yes" or "no" remains to be said. But then, when when there was no free discussion anywhere, it is no wonder that the average Commoner grew restless and dissatisfied, believing that the English Parliament was not what its name indicated it ought to be, "The Free Speaking Council."

So far as I can find, and portray, these are some of the conditions existing when James the I. began the rule of Britain. He was a stranger among a people with ways and methods entirely new to him. No doubt he studied the situation closely, urged on by his own weakness and fears; and apparently one of the first methods that he devised for his own safety and enlightenment was to direct the clerk of the Commons to keep a much more full record than had ever been kept before, which should embrace not only the votes, orders and resolutions of the House, with reports of committees upon all matters referred; but in addition to all former records should include also short notes of the speeches and motions of the members, thus adding the duties of reporter to those of clerk, and enabling the King each night to know, not only what had been done during the day, but the substance of what had been said, as well as who had said it. The members were restive under this system of espionage, as they had a right to be. Many of the matters in question were personal to the King; they related to raising revenue for him, and to all subjects pertaining to a change of administration, to the form of union to be established between England and Scotland, involving discussions of Scottish manners, clans and creeds. These English law makers had little

love for their new Scottish brethren, and no doubt much was said to which the King might take exception, and, by reason of the fact that their debates were now to be reported, some means must be devised to avoid this censorship.

The appointment of committees is a very ancient practice. A few members selected from the whole body, for the performance of some particular duty, furnishes so obvious and convenient a means of facilitating the transaction of business in a legislative body, that it has been in use from the earliest period. The reason for the existence of those committees which we are investigating, known as Committees of the Whole, is not, however, equally obvious. The same reason that would designate a few persons to obtain information upon a given subject would not impose that duty upon a large number with no peculiar qualifications for the task imposed. The Committee of the Whole did not, therefore, have its origin from the established usage of appointing ordinary committees; but it originated in a determination of the individual members of the House of Commons to rid themselves of the espionage of the King—to have an opportunity for free, full discussion, without the presence of any minion of the crown or record book to tell the tale of their acts or speech, and after several efforts, the first two or three of which resulted in failures, the Committee of the Whole was an established fact, founded to consider a bill introduced into the third session of the Parliament of James the I., entitled “A bill for the continuance and preservation of the Union,” meaning the union between England and Scotland, it being of record that it was “affirmed”—voted “that if Mr. Speaker were absent, the whole House might be a Committee;” whereupon it was thought fit to commit the bill to the whole House, Mr. Speaker only excepted;” the clerk and sergeant also being excused, as the committee needed no officers. Thus the House surrendered to the Committee, the officers retiring.

True, at this time, when but one decade of the 19th century is left, and the citizen and the officer are each as free to exercise their respective judgments as can be made consistent with the non-interference of the corresponding rights of every other person, we are not in the habit of looking upon the practice of the “Committee of the Whole” as any very important affair, or possessed of any particular significance; but as I read English history I cannot but think that its inception and introduction mark one long step taken by the people’s representatives in the way of relieving themselves from the oppressive, burdensome hand of the kingly power, a long stride toward self-government.

If any proof is needed that this new system, sometimes called the “Grand Committee,” was regarded as a breaking away from royalty and the establishment of the voice of the people as an element of the government, that proof is furnished by James’ son and successor, Charles the I., who, immediately after the dissolution of his third parliament, promulgated a proclamation from which the following is an extract:

“We are not ignorant how much the House of Commons hath of late years endeavored to extend their privileges by setting up general committees for religion, for courts of justice, for trade, and the like, a course never heard of till of late; so as when in former times the knights and burgesses were wont to communicate to the House such business as they brought from their countries. Now there are so many chairs erected to make inquiry upon all sorts of men, where complaints of all sorts are entertained, to the insufferable disturbance and scandal of justice and government, which having been tolerated a while by our father and ourself, hath daily grown to more and more height, insomuch that young lawyers, sitting there, take upon them to decry

the opinion of the judges, and some have not doubted to maintain that the resolutions of that body must bind the judges, a thing never heard of in ages past; but in this last assembly they have taken on them much more than ever before."

Thus we have positive proof that, within comparatively a few years, this practice was firmly established in the English Commons for all important questions, and that the King met its encroachments upon royal prerogatives with complaints and protests, which continually increased in force, and finally led to open defiance. The King might, as he claimed to do, hold Parliament within his grasp, and call and prorogue it at pleasure, but the members had found a way of breaking loose from his control which they continued to use with increasing frequency and freedom, until the breach was wide—the English revolution was on—two armies were in the field, and soon Charles the I. was a fugitive, fleeing for safety from the pursuit of soldiers of the Parliamentary army. Thus the question of the King vs. the people having been taken from the civil arena and submitted to the arbitrament of arms, it was therefore settled upon the field, a settlement by which the King—Charles the I.—was compelled to surrender his claims, and finally to lose his head upon the block. May we not then properly acknowledge that the freedom of debate which we enjoy to-day, most unrestrictedly in Committee of the Whole, is the product and fruit of the battles fought and the victories won in those historic years which we have been for a few moments considering—that what the Commons wrenched from peace loving James the I. and insisted upon holding from his son Charles, though the blood and treasure of the kingdom were expended, the English speaking people have never lost or relinquished.

I will close this article by the relation of one little incident illustrative of a foible of King James, a weakness by the way, which human nature has been convicted of many times before and since, in fact an incident which may be suggestive to office seekers of the present generation. A nobleman came to the palace in pursuit of a place—an office; on his arrival he saw the King mounting his horse for an airing. He was given a moment's interview to state his case and present his petitions and recommendations, which were noticed and read; but no encouragement or answer given. The nobleman departed and came to court the next day to hear the result; again he got no answer. After several days of waiting the lord treasurer was pressed to ascertain the King's pleasure touching the petition; finally when the King was asked for his answer, he said in some wrath, "Shall a King give heed to a dirty paper when the beggar presenting it taketh no note of the King's gilt stirrups?" Thus was developed the fact that the King had new furnishings for his horse that day, which the man in his overcharged confusion had neglected to admire, and thus the good knight failed in his suit. Moral: The King is as susceptible to adulation and flattery as the peasant; in fact the King is only a man, subject to all the weaknesses of humanity—a moral which we of the American republic believe to be taught on every page of the world's history.

"Kings, by grasping more than they could hold,
First made their subjects by oppression bold;
And popular sway, by forcing kings to give
More than was fit for subjects to receive,
Ran to the same extremes; and one excess
Made both, by striving to be greater, less."

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